173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

164 Demography. The Mbida-Mbane have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

161 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

●511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

161 Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.39.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These conditions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active and prosperous elements (producing three quarters of the cacao grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document, 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak (Yénzɔk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisèm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzɔk, Yémvɔ̂g, Yémisèm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
619

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
● 511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
619 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esèngi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
177 Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on
619 the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups – Bétsi and Nzaman – the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the
361 Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Omblooué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[464] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

245 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

245 556 434 511 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1951.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3, 720 francs C. F. A. per annum (3).

436 3. One franc C. F. A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10, 000 francs C. F. A., 217 had 29, 600 francs, 87 had 71, 500 francs, 36 had 152, 000 francs, 5 had 440, 000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with 245 511 556 profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

245 distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the
511 principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable
554 scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon (4).

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4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.
245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
412 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

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1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

6: Alexandre and Binet--42 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

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1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14 percent	Household articles	1.9 percent
Textiles	17.4 -	Equipment	7.7 -
Bride price	13 -	Taxes	8.5 -
Housing and furniture	7.5 -	Medicaments	1.3 -
Bedding	1.5 -	Education	0.9 -
Lighting and upkeep	3 -	Gifts and miscellaneous	6 -
Trips	2 -		

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Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

6:Alexandre and Binet--43 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 .FH9 Fang FH9

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511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
29 the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
495 demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
513 crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
413 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

465 As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

779 necessary investigation by sacrifices. And the totem, under
622 penalty of not receiving any expiation, should reveal its rela-
614 tionship. But as Nzoge Nze becomes more of a remote ancestor, the risk of relationship with every panther grows, for each panther may be related to the eponymous ancestor and consequently the law becomes more stringent. Should a panther enter villages and kill a few innocent people, [549] such as women and children, the men of the eponymous clan would be permitted to kill it, and only in such a case, but they would still be forbidden to eat it. When after a series of sacrifices for this purpose, it has been duly established that revenge for some unexpiated totemic offense is not involved, that is proof that the panther in question does not belong to the eponymous panther clan. It is a "foreigner" or "deserter", the latter being quite common in certain animal species, one of whose members may leave the group to go off on his own and become a "solitary," as do elephants, panthers, wild boars, gorillas. It is then perfectly lawful to attack it and kill it if possible. A trifling ritual expiation will suffice, proportionate to the very small likelihood of having killed an ally, an extremely slight probability, since actions are never taken without previous assent of the totem chief of the tribe. The responsibility will be his in case of mistake.

IV. War and Palavers

● 511 Life is easy for the Fan.

Close to his village, the great forest begins; it abounds in game, and he has not far to go to be able to shoot, at point-blank range, monkeys, antelopes, wild boars, even elephants. There are innumerable streams and rivers swarming with fish, especially carp; traps, weirs, nets, everything is good to catch them with -- everything succeeds. A Fan hunts and fishes when he feels like it; there are no laws interfering with his inclinations. Banana and manioc plantations, which provide the basic subsistence, give hardly any trouble. At the start of each season there are a few days of work at slashing-and-burning, the ashes providing fertilizer. After that, all the labor and care of the crops falls
517 upon the women. The Fan is therefore idle most of the day and